

case, unwise. There have been numerous instances where presidents behaved in a manner deemed outrageous and even dangerous to the country. Franklin Roosevelt was roundly criticized for his efforts to "pack" the Supreme Court. President Truman seized the steel mills. President Reagan and then Vice President Bush presided over the executive branch while an illegal scheme, run out of the White House, was conducted to sell arms to Iran and use proceeds from those sales to support armed rebellion in Nicaragua. The behavior of these individuals arguably was at least as egregious as President Clinton's. But the Senate did not pursue a censure resolution against any of them.

Ours is not a parliamentary system. In the United States, we do not entertain votes of "no confidence" against our chief executive. We elect presidents, not prime ministers.

A censure resolution in the present instance will seem modest, perhaps even insignificant, in relation to the impeachment conducted by the House. However, future generations may well come to view censure as an American-made vote of "no confidence" against future occupants of the Oval Office. We may pave the way to a new form of executive punishment. And it may be used not only in cases of personal misconduct. It could be used against a president who simply makes an unpopular or unwise, but nevertheless lawful and well-intended, decision.

Ultimately, we could subject future presidents, who have not been impeached, to this form of punishment. In doing so, we risk eroding the independence and authority of the presidency. I do not want to see the Senate take such a risk.

APPRECIATION OF SERVICE OF CHIEF JUSTICE REHNQUIST

Mr. DODD. Mr. President, I rise to extend a word of thanks to Chief Justice Rehnquist for his distinguished service in presiding over this trial.

The Supreme Court sits just a few short yards from this Chamber. Yet, its Justices and its working remain largely unknown to those of us who serve here. Perhaps that conceptual distance successfully reflects the Framers' construct of legislative and judicial branches that act for the most part independently of one another.

Suffice it to say that our knowledge of the Chief Justice was rather limited prior to the commencement of the impeachment trial. We knew of his reputation as a formidable intellect, as a scholar—including on the topic of impeachment—and as an efficient manager of courtroom. We did not as a group know much more about him.

What we learned during that course of that trial is that the Chief Justice brought his many estimable qualities

to bear on this unique legal challenge. He brought a deep historical understanding of the impeachment process. He instilled confidence in each Senator that he would conduct himself in a manner faithful to the role prescribed for the chief justice by the Framers. At all times, he guided the trial with a firm and fair hand—not hesitating to use his judgment and common sense when appropriate, but never pressing a point of view on matters better left to the collective judgment of the Senate. He demonstrated a continuing respect and appreciation for the workings of this body. Last but not least, he brought a refreshing sense of humor to his task, which made our task as triers of fact somewhat more bearable.

Although this was an historic occasion, no one who took part in it relished doing so. There is collective relief, I think, that this constitutional ordeal is now behind us. But as we look back at these past remarkable weeks, we can all take comfort and pride in knowing that this second impeachment trial in our nation's history was presided over by an individual of great intelligence, historical knowledge, and wit.

These qualities made him uniquely suited to his task. The Senate and the entire nation owe a debt of thanks to Chief Justice Rehnquist for rendering such value and distinguished service.

DEPOSITION OF VERNON JORDAN IN THE SENATE IMPEACHMENT TRIAL

Mr. LEAHY. Mr. President, I regret to have to return to an unfinished aspect of the Senate impeachment trial of President Clinton.

On February 2, I attended the deposition of Vernon Jordan as one of the Senators designated to serve as presiding officers. On February 4, the Senate approved the House Managers' motion to include a portion of that deposition in the trial record. Unfortunately, the House Managers moved to include only a portion of the videotaped deposition in the trial record and left the rest hidden from the public and subject to the confidentiality rules that governed those proceedings.

On Saturday, February 6, at the conclusion of his presentation, Mr. Kendall asked for permission to display the last segment of the videotaped deposition of Vernon Jordan, in which, as Mr. Kendall described it "Mr. Jordan made a statement defending his own integrity." The House Managers objected to the playing of the approximately 2-minute segment of the deposition that represented Mr. Jordan's "own statement about his integrity."

I then rose to request unanimous consent from the Senate that the segment of the videotaped deposition be allowed to be shown on the Senate floor to the Senate and the American

people. There was objection from the Republican side.

I noted my disappointment at the time and in my February 12 remarks about the depositions. After the conclusion of the voting on the Articles of Impeachment and before the adjournment of the court of impeachment, unanimous consent was finally granted to include the "full written transcripts" of the depositions in the public record of the trial. As far as I can tell, however, the statement of integrity by Mr. Jordan has yet to be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

I regret that the Senate chose to prohibit the viewing of the videotape of this powerful personal statement during the trial. I regret that it continues to be restricted from public viewing.

In order to be sure that the transcript that is being made a part of the public trial record is readily available to the public, I ask unanimous consent that the following portion of the written transcript of the deposition of Vernon Jordan, that containing his statement of integrity heretofore suppressed, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The WITNESS. Mr. Chairman, may I be just permitted a moment of personal privilege? I don't know about the rules here, but uh, I'd like to say something if you would permit.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Mr. Chairman—

Senator THOMPSON. Well, Mr. Jordan, quite frankly, it depends on what the subject matter is and what you'd like—

The WITNESS. Well, it won't be a declaration of war. [Laughter.]

Senator THOMPSON. Counsel, did you have—

Mr. HUTCHINSON. I would reserve the objection. I think that's permissible under the rules. So I would state my objection, let him answer it, and if—we can debate that if it becomes an issue in the Senate. I'd like to reserve the objection.

Senator THOMPSON. All right.

The WITNESS. It's just something I want you, Mr. Hutchinson, and the House Managers to understand about Vernon Jordan. And that is, you know, it's a very long way from the first public housing project in this country for black people, where I grew up. It's a long way from there to a corner office at Akin Gump. It's a long way from University Homes to the corporate board rooms of America. It's a long way from University Homes to the Oval Office. And I have made that journey understanding one thing, and that is that the only thing I have in this world that belongs to me is fee simple absolute, completely and totally, is my integrity.

My corner office at Akin Gump is at best tenuous. My house, my home, is at best tenuous. My bank account, my stocks and my bonds, they are ultimately of no moment.

But what matters most to me, and what was taught to me by my mother, is that the only thing that I own totally and completely is my integrity. And my integrity has been on trial here, and I want to tell you that nothing is more important to me than that.

The President is my friend. He was before this happened, he is now, and he will be when this is over. But he is not a friend in that I have no friends for whom I would sacrifice

my integrity. And I want you to understand that.

Senator THOMPSON. Thank you, Mr. Jordan.

If there is no further question, then this deposition is completed, and we stand adjourned.

The WITNESS. Thank you.

MESSAGES FROM THE PRESIDENT

Messages from the President of the United States were communicated to the Senate by Mr. Williams, one of his secretaries.

EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

As in executive session the Presiding Officer laid before the Senate messages from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations which were referred to the appropriate committees.

(The nominations received today are printed at the end of the Senate proceedings.)

REPORT CONCERNING A WESTERN HEMISPHERE DRUG ALLIANCE—MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT—PM 9

The Presiding Officer laid before the Senate the following message from the President of the United States, together with an accompanying report; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

To the Congress of the United States:

I am pleased to provide the attached report on a Western Hemisphere Drug Alliance in accordance with the provisions of section 2807 of the "Foreign Affairs Reform and Restructuring Act of 1998." This report underscores the Administration's commitment to enhancing multilateral counternarcotics cooperation in the region.

Strengthening international narcotics control is one of my Administration's top foreign policy priorities. Because of the transnational nature of the Western Hemisphere drug trafficking threat, we have made enhanced multilateral cooperation a central feature of our regional drug control strategy. Our counternarcotics diplomacy, foreign assistance, and operations have focused increasingly on making this objective a reality.

We are succeeding. Thanks to U.S. leadership in the Summit of the Americas, the Organization of American States, and other regional fora, the countries of the Western Hemisphere are taking the drug threat more seriously and responding more aggressively. South American cocaine organizations that were once regarded as among the largest and most violent crime syndicates in the world have been dismantled, and the level of coca cultivation is now plummeting as fast as it was once sky-rocketing. We are also currently working through the Organization of American States to cre-

ate a counternarcotics multilateral evaluation mechanism in the hemisphere. These examples reflect fundamental narcotics control progress that was nearly unimaginable a few years ago.

While much remains to be done, I am confident that the Administration and the Congress, working together, can bolster cooperation in the hemisphere, accelerate this progress, and significantly diminish the drug threat to the American people. I look forward to your continued support and cooperation in this critical area.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, February 23, 1999.

MESSAGES FROM THE HOUSE

At 11:24 a.m., a message from the House of Representatives, delivered by Mr. Hays, one of its reading clerks, announced that the House has passed the following bill, in which it requests the concurrence of the Senate:

H.R. 350. An act to improve congressional deliberation on proposed Federal private sector mandates, and for other purposes.

EXECUTIVE AND OTHER COMMUNICATIONS

The following communications were laid before the Senate, together with accompanying papers, reports, and documents, which were referred as indicated:

EC-1864. A communication from the Secretary of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Secretary's report on the retention of members of the Armed Forces; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1865. A communication from the Director of Defense Procurement, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement; Independent Research and Development and Bid and Proposal Costs for Fiscal Year 1996 and Beyond" (Case 95-D040) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1866. A communication from the Director of Defense Procurement, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement; Deviations from Cost Accounting Standards Administration Requirements" (Case 97-D016) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1867. A communication from the Director of Defense Procurement, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement; Television-Audio Support Activity" (Case 98-D008) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1868. A communication from the Director of Defense Procurement, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement;

Specifications and Standards Requisition" (Case 98-D022) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1869. A communication from the Director of Defense Procurement, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement; Flexible Progress Payments" (Case 98-D400) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1870. A communication from the Director of Defense Procurement, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement; People's Republic of China" (Case 98-D305) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1871. A communication from the Director of Defense Procurement, Office of the Under Secretary of Defense for Acquisition and Technology, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Defense Federal Acquisition Regulation Supplement; Singapore Accession to Government Procurement Agreement" (Case 98-D029) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1872. A communication from the Alternate OSD Federal Register Liaison Officer, Department of Defense, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Civilian Health and Medical Program of the Uniformed Services (CHAMPUS); Individual Case Management" (RIN0720-AA30) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1873. A communication from the Acting Assistant Secretary of Defense for Force Policy and Management, transmitting, pursuant to law, the Department's Defense Education Activity (DoDEA) Accountability Report and Accountability Profiles for the Department of Defense Dependents Schools for School Year 1997-1998; to the Committee on Armed Services.

EC-1874. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Approval and Promulgation of Air Quality Implementation Plans; State of Delaware—Transportation Conformity Regulation" (FRL6303-4) received on February 16, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-1875. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "National Emission Standards for Hazardous Air Pollutants; Emissions: Group I Polymers and Resins and Group IV Polymers and Resins and Standards of Performance for Volatile Organic Compound (VOC) Emissions from the Polymer Manufacturing Industry" (FRL6301-6) received on February 11, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-1876. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection Agency, transmitting, pursuant to law, the report of a rule entitled "Wyoming: Final Authorization of State Hazardous Waste Management Program Revision" (FRL6302-1) received on February 11, 1999; to the Committee on Environment and Public Works.

EC-1877. A communication from the Director of the Office of Regulatory Management and Information, Environmental Protection